BLUEPRINT FOR A POLICE STATE U.S.A. — THE BROWNELL BILLS... see page 3

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

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KNOW YOUR ENEMY
Young Chinese women in Peking's May Day procession (see p. 6)

THE BIG QUESTION ON SCHOOL SEGREGATION

When will court decision become nation's practice?

By Eugene Gordon

THE highest court in the U.S. had outlawed the separate education of white and Negro children in public schools. The question for Negroes, and for all Americans aspiring to see their country draw level with others having anti-segregation laws with teeth in them, was how long it would take to translate the court's words into nation-wide practice.

These were the last chapters in the anti-jimcrow-school fight on the Constitutional level: In Dec., 1952, the Supreme Court heard arguments for and against school jimcrow in Delaware, Kansas, Virginia, S. Carolina and the Dist. of Columbia. Though aimed specifically at jimcrow in those areas, the suits affected 8,200,000 white and 2,530,000 Negro students in 17 additional states. Last June 8 the court asked lawyers for both sides to answer five questions. In the first three it asked whether the 14th Amendment outlawed jimcrow schools and whether the high court had power to abolish such jimcrow. The fourth asked whether—if the Amendment was violated—the court should rule that such jimcrow be done away with immediately or "permit an

See W. E. B. DuBois, p. 5

effective gradual adjustment to be brought about." The fifth asked whether the court—if it sanctioned "gradual adjustment"—should itself "formulate detailed decrees" or leave it to states.

THE ANSWERS: Reargument of the cases was heard last December. J. Lee Rankin, representing Atty. Gen. Brownell, and NAACP counsel Thurgood Marshall for the Negro students and parents, said the 14th Amendment was aimed at abolishing all jimcrow; therefore it deprived the states "of any power to make racial distinctions," and the "separate but equal" doctrine was invalid, segregation itself denoting inequality and being *per se* unconstitutional.

John W. Davis, Democratic nominee for President 30 years ago, argued for S. Carolina that Congress and the states in adopting the 14th Amendment "did not contemplate" abolition of jimcrow in public schools; that the high court had repeatedly upheld validity of the "separate but equal" doctrine; that "sole power to educate its citizens" is given to each separate state; that

". . . the first fallacy in the appellants' brief is the assumption, wholly unwarranted, I think, that the anti-slavery crusade was directed against

(Continued on Page 6)

Photo by Mildred Grossman
AS FAR AS THEY'RE CONCERNED THERE WILL BE NO TROUBLE
This'll be the New Look in schoolrooms when the Constitution's restored

WAR & PEACE

Viet Minh concessions make it tougher for U.S. to intervene

By Tabitha Petran

WITH developments in the Indo-China crisis under a news blackout imposed by Secy. Dulles May 18, and the nation's interest again focused on the Army-McCarthy hearings, few Americans realize how close their government has come to war. The Dienbienphu battle having ended before it could intervene there, Washington now—with the military situation in the Red River Delta deteriorating, and progress apparent in the Geneva talks on Indo-China—faces anew the choice of intervention or an armistice.

Although the Administration is divided, with opposition to intervention led by Treasury Secy. Humphrey, Washington's every move to date points to a decision to intervene.

CONCESSIONS & BLACKMAIL: But new Viet Minh concessions at Geneva suggest that Washington may again have miscalculated. The Viet Minh's original demands were for a political settlement before an armistice; a unified Vietnam after general elections; concentration of French troops at a few points until elections, when they would be withdrawn. By last week they had agreed to international guarantee of the conference settlement, withdrawal of the opposing forces into large zones. These concessions make it increasingly difficult for French Foreign Minister Bidault to carry through his plan which London's **New Statesman** (5/22) said was "to obstruct the armistice."

The difficulties in the way of intervention are suggested by the "conditions" Washington has set; "complete

Herblock in Washington Post
"Sure everything's all right, Foster?"

independence" (i.e., complete U.S. control of the three Indo-China states; U.S. command of the war; some sort of UN sanction; troop contributions from other Pacific powers. France is reluctant on the first three; Britain opposes the whole idea. But Washington is trying to blackmail both allies.

Dulles' statement that S.E. Asia can be held even if Indo-China is lost in effect told French Foreign Minister Bidault, who has staked all on internationalizing the war, to accept his conditions or lose all Indo-China to the Viet Minh. The President's statement that Britain is not essential to a S.E. Asia pact, as well as the failure to inform Britain of the U.S.-French talks, constituted "a pretty blunt tightening of the screws which Dulles has already been applying to the Churchill government" (**NYHT**, 5/20). In effect, Washington read Britain out of the Pacific unless it bowed to U.S. war policy in S.E. Asia.

FRANCE'S HOLLOW MEN: In the case of France, the blackmail could succeed. Although the French people almost unanimously oppose the "dirty war"—and even more, its extension—they have proved impotent to halt Bidault's policy of keeping it going on the calculation that the U.S. will intervene. The Laniel-Bidault government hangs by a thread, but the thread may hold till "internationalization" takes place because of the opposition's division and weakness. Laniel's recent 289-287 confidence vote was won only when several deputies switched votes after a preliminary tally showed the government had

(Continued on Page 7)

This is the season to renew

If your address-plate on p. 1 (reverse of this box) reads May, 1954 (5-54) or earlier, your sub is in arrears and is due for renewal NOW.

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THE MAIL BAG

An un-saved world

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Tremendous news! President Eisenhower has just saved the world, through pure inadvertence. He said: "No nation could be saved for the free world . . . unless it wanted to be saved."

Isn't that great? If any nation desires to be saved, let it notify Dulles, Dear Dulles: We do not wish to be saved. Kindly cease your attentions. Don't do us any favors. Let us alone.

The UN might issue a single form to the nations with the question: Do you or do you not wish to be saved? Check one.

Until now we have followed the precept of the philosophers in **The Crock of Gold**, who said of a certain young lady: "She does not wish to be saved, therefore we shall save her." **Strawfoot**

Inspired by DuBois

DENVER, COLO.

Reading the article, "A third party, or even a second," by W. E. B. DuBois, has thrilled me to the point of sending in my renewal and also to go out and try to get new subscribers for your brave and wonderful publication.

Robert Trujillo

So, see letter above

PAHOKEE, FLA.

"How are you going to vote in the fall?" I asked my neighbor. "Well," he said, "the Reps are worse than the Dems, and the Dems are worse than the Reps, so what?" And he lit his pipe.

E. E. Boe

Let Congress know

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

"Steps to Peace—A Quaker View of U.S. Policy." This report, published in 1951, is as timely as yesterday's newspaper—above all, in its comment on Asia. Crystallizing the realistic wisdom acquired during many years of the Quakers' service the world over, it is a deeply humane expression and practical application of the ethical principles by which Eisenhower and Dulles say our international relations are governed. In its criticisms of our foreign policy it is fearlessly candid but not distorted. In every instance there is suggested a solution to problems which must be resolved if we would avoid immeasurable disaster.

Let us buy and use this booklet in approaching friends and neighbors whose understanding has been influenced by half-truths and whole lies. It will impress the sceptic; it will silence and abash the malicious. The truth of its message should be carried from pulpits, discussed on the air and in neighborhood gatherings. It costs 25c and may be ordered from local branches of American Friends Service Committee or from 20 So. 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Muriel I. Symington

Guardian records

FALL RIVER, MASS.

I have now had the GUARDIAN "Fifth Amendment Forum" record for several weeks. So far there has been one listening party and another is expected soon. It met with considerable approval and some discussion did result. . . . Personally, I liked the record very much and learned quite a bit from it, especially David Rein's talk.

J. T.

We've heard from others that our Forum records have been well used. We hope GUARDIAN readers will be as interested in the record on Indo-China that will be ready next week. See box on page 3. Ed.

Free world "destiny"

PACIFIC PALISADES, CALIF.

Our present crop of generals who pander to their Big Business buddies cloak their activities under the slogan: "Destiny has chosen us to lead the free world." The late Maj.-Gen. Smedley D. Butler gave a more honest definition of the "destiny" double-talk:

"During my 33 years in the Marine Corps . . . I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street, and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism.

"Thus I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in, I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras 'right' for American fruit companies. . . . In China in 1927 I helped see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested.

"During those years I had, as the boys in the back room would say, a swell racket. I was rewarded with honors, medals, promotion. Looking back on it, I feel I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was to operate his racket in three city districts. We Marines operate on three continents." **Joseph Sholom**

Eight years later

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

As one who is against killing in general, regardless of ideology, particularly that face-saving "operation squander" known as Dien Bien Phu, I would like to cut through the fake sentimentality that has been built and point out one fact:

The last stronghold to be captured at Dien Bien Phu was an artillery outpost manned exclusively by Foreign Legionnaires, all of whose members were formerly of the Nazi Wehrmacht.

On May 8, 1945, the last of the Nazis surrendered in Europe.

On May 8, 1954, the last of the Nazis surrendered at Dien Bien Phu. **Brent D. Hartz**

How crazy can you get dept.

"The Bomb's brilliant gleam reminds me of the brilliant gleam 'Beacon Wax' gives to floors. It's a science marvel!"

Ad in Pittsburgh Press.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under heading above. Name of this week's sender missing. Will he let us know?

For Ethel and Julius

CHICAGO, ILL.

We are sending this $2 for the GUARDIAN in memory of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. It will be one year on June 19 since they were executed. As we thought about it we thought of the GUARDIAN's glorious fight in their behalf and we felt we could think of no better memorial to them than a live and vigorous people's paper. We urge other readers to do the same—and to place "In Memoriam" ads in their local newspapers.

Carolyn and Daniel Berger

Sacred capital cows

SEATTLE, WASH.

The worst thing brought out at the McCarthy hearings so far was the kow-towing to the FBI. Locally, the FBI has been unable to locate the three bank robbers who killed one policeman and wounded others. However, they have been able to catch three others—ages 13, 14 and 15. If the Bureau was not the sacred cow that it is, it would be laughed off the stage.

D. L. S.

History of Amnesty

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The American tradition of Amnesty goes back to the earliest days of our history. When Thomas Jefferson was elected President in 1800 he freed scores of political prisoners jailed under the Alien and Sedition Laws. Again, in 1893, Gov. Altgeld of Illinois pardoned those of the Haymarket prisoners who had been sentenced to life imprisonment. President Harding granted Amnesty to Eugene Debs and 23 other political prisoners after the movement for their pardon had grown to such proportions that the matter of Amnesty became a political issue in the 1820 presidential elections.

Supreme Court Justice Black said in his dissenting opinion on the Smith Act convictions: "These petitioners are not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. They were not charged with non-verbal acts of any kind designed to overthrow the government. They were not even charged with saying or writing anything designed to overthrow the government."

I am convinced that every right-thinking person should join the Amnesty campaign now under way under the direction of the Natl. Comm. to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims. Here in Los Angeles the campaign will be launched at a gathering Thursday, May 27, at the Park Manor, 607 S. Western Av., at 8 p.m. I will have the privilege of speaking on that occasion. **Reuben W. Borough**

Point of moral order

COOS BAY, ORE.

Some Girl Scout Brownies were playing after their meeting near my home. One little girl said loudly: "Point of order. Point of order. I'll be McCarthy. You be the lawyer."

This made me wonder what kind of games the children of the Soviet Union play. If I were suddenly transported to the Ukraine, for example, would I hear: "This will be the new Dnieper dam and over there is the new state forest belt across the desert. I'll be the Chief Engineer. You can be the poet who's coming to write a poem about us."?

What glorious leaders we of the U.S. provide for our children to imitate. Is it any wonder that our youngsters are restless and show increasingly less respect for teachers and other adults, and for their laws? **A Teacher**

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REPORT TO READERS

Bamboozle Curtain

FACT sometimes makes strange bedfellows. Into the editorial sanctum of the N.Y. **World-Telegram** (Scripps-Howard) there somehow came last week a picture of Emperor Bao Dai of Vietnam, sunning himself on the French Riviera while Dienbienphu was falling. So the **NYWT** fired a hot editorial—which sounded almost like the GUARDIAN—saying that unless we can represent somebody in Asia other than the fat boys of colonialism, we'd better keep our men and money at home.

In the same paper, Dienbienphu's famous French nurse, interviewed for the first time after her airlift out, said she had sent a birthday greeting to liberation leader Ho Chi Minh on May 19 but refused to tell the "free world" press representatives why. She feared her reasons would be misunderstood.

SO, BIT BY BIT people here are beginning to get some glimmers of light on the subject. In Norwalk, Conn., where the red-hunting V.F.W. tried to stop a meeting on Indo-China, the Norwalk **Hour** commented that the folks had a perfect right to hold the meeting, but what was the need: was there really anybody who wasn't against getting into a war there?

We think the **Hour** rather blandly overstated things: the facts are that there are few Americans who are not still in a state of total bamboozlement on Indo-China. And they need honest facts in a hurry, if informed mail to Congress is to mount enough to stop the Dulles-Pentagon trigger-happy set.

The information your friends need is available to you by return mail from the GUARDIAN—in the attractive, compact form of Cameron & Kahn's latest book, Joseph Starobin's **Eye-Witness in Indo-China.** Starobin, a newspaperman we have known for a long time, arranged his own way through the "Bamboo Curtain" into Indo-China last year. He met, ate with and interviewed the revered Ho Chi Minh, lived with the liberation forces, learned their story first-hand; then came back and wrote it down in a book for Americans which we reviewed enthusiastically earlier this month.

EVERY GUARDIAN READER ought to have this book now, to digest and pass around. Almost every reader has, somewhere around the house, a recent letter from us offering the book for $1 postpaid, or FREE with a renewal, an advance renewal, or a pledge.

Our point is, we conceive this book to be the ideal available means of breaking through the U.S. press curtain with facts from behind the mythical one of Bamboo. It is easy to read, and is unique as the only eye-witness report on this focal point of world attention by any American journalist.

Dig out that GUARDIAN mailing, please, and get it started back to us. You will be genuinely rewarded, and so will your friends. —**THE EDITORS**

Let Congress know

Attorney General Brownell's two bills inaugurating his new drive toward a police state—S. 3427 and 3428—are now in the Senate Judiciary Comm. (see p. 3). According to a CIO exec. board statement, such bills "would give the government the power of life and death over all unions . . . and wreck, through government regulation, the whole edifice of American trade union democracy in order to try to deal with the control of a tiny handful of Communists in unions."

If you agree, it is most urgent to write to your own Congressmen and Senators and say so.

THE BROWNELL BILLS AND WHAT THEY MEAN

Ten steps to a police state

By Lawrence Emery

HERBERT BROWNELL Jr. is a small-town boy (Peru, Neb.) who made the big time through the back-rooms of Tom Dewey's GOP. Until Dewey assigned him as political mastermind of the Eisenhower Administration he seldom appeared in public. He was the off-stage operator, the wire-puller with know-how on swapping old bones for live votes. As a lawyer he made a good living but set no fires in behalf of noble causes. His was a narrow specialty: he was general counsel for the American Hotel Assn. and the N.Y. State and City Hotel Assns. His contribution to legal lore is a co-authored book, **Manual of N.Y. Hotel & Restaurant Law.** He was a handy man to know for anybody wanting a license to open a bar and grill.

THE BIG DICK: As Atty. General, his role in the Eisenhower government became clear last November when he shocked old lawyers and old politicians by his public use of "inviolable" FBI secret gossip to brand the Truman administration treasonous. Brownell was Eisenhower's backstop for Joe McCarthy. The Wisconsin brawler is a free-wheeler who might get out of hand because he makes up his own rules and wants to be captain. Brownell—at least a team-man—was assigned the job of out-McCarthying McCarthy; if McCarthy wrecks himself with his own recklessness, it can never be said that the regime thirsts less than he for blood of "subversives."

By last week the specialist in hotels had been set up as house-dick for the U.S.: all guests will be properly registered and there will be no sinning in the private rooms.

RESPECTABLE HANDCUFFS: When Eisenhower took office he ordered a comprehensive program to be compiled covering "internal security." It is about completed and consists of ten separate steps to a full-blown police state. The bills are presently being introduced in Congress; the top word is that they are "must" legislation and Eisenhower wants the major ones made law before November.

On April 9 Brownell presented the program to the nation on TV, after advance TV billing by the President himself. Brownell was careful to remove any "taint" of McCarthyism; the Eisenhower bills are to be pure and respectable. He boasted of "great progress" by federal agencies, pointedly declared that "the FBI, the Dept. of Justice and the courts are your agents in dealing with this Communist conspiracy."

THE PROGRAM: These were his ten points, which he described as "new and powerful Constitutional weapons":

1. Authorization to tap wires at the sole discretion of the Atty. General.
2. Power to deprive of citizenship those convicted under the Smith Act.
3. Destruction of the protection of the Fifth Amendment by compelling testimony under "immunity."
4. Death penalty for espionage in peace time as well as during war.
5. Extension of the statute of limitations in all cases under the general heading of "security."
6. New, tougher "sabotage" laws.
7. Stiffer penalties for harboring political refugees.
8. A new perjury law under which the government need only prove conflicting statements by a witness, not, as now, that one is false.
9. Authority to fire workers deemed likely to commit sabotage, espionage or general "subversion."
10. Authority to liquidate unions deemed "infiltrated" by communism.

The House has already passed a bill authorizing federal courts to permit wire-tapping; Senate opposition to Brownell's insistence on wire-tapping at his discretion is being led by Sen. Wayne Morse (Ind-Ore.). The de-citizenship bill has been introduced by Sen. Homer Ferguson (R-Mich.), who as chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee has been chosen to sponsor most, or all, of the Administration measures. Ferguson has carefully dissociated himself from McCarthy, last week said he did not want any McCarthy campaign help this year in his state.

ATTY GEN. HERBERT A. BROWNELL
From bar and grill to bars and grillwork

CURTAIN-RAISERS: On May 9 Brownell picked U.S. Atty. William F. Tompkins of New Jersey to head a new Internal Security Divn. in the Dept. of Justice. Tompkins responded to the honor like a high-school cheer leader:

> "It's one heck of a challenge. But I'm thrilled to get the chance, and I'll be in there swinging. . . ."

Next day Ferguson introduced Brownell's two major bills. Brownell, stressing that both have White House approval, said they would

> ". . . go far toward closing gaps in present laws dealing with subversion and in tightening the legal net around the Communist conspiracy."

One, S 3427, is known as the "Communist-Infiltrated Organization Act"; the other, S 3428, as the "Defense Facilities Protection Act." The first empowers the Subversive Activities Control Board, upon petition by the Atty. General, to order any organization, including unions, if found to be "Communist-infiltrated," to "dissolve, liquidate and wind up its affairs expeditiously." The second would bar from employment in any "defense facility" (so defined as to include most private industry) any person

> ". . . as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe . . . [he] may engage in sabotage, espionage, or other subversive acts."

"FEARFUL BAYING": Public reaction was slow. One of the first organizations to call the alarm was the Progressive Party. On May 13 C. B. Baldwin, natl. secy., issued this warning:

> "Never has legislation of so far-reaching a fascist character been proposed to the Congress and the American people. If enacted, these bills will establish a labor front, Nazi style. In the name of 'liberating' American labor from Communist 'domination and control,' this legislation would subject every worker and every trade union to the domination and control of the Dept. of Justice and the FBI. It is clear from the Administration's sponsorship of these bills that, while attempting to dissociate itself from McCarthy, it has in fact adopted the techniques, methods and objectives of McCarthyism which it intends to apply on a vastly extended scale."

Several of the biggest labor organizations are already on record as opposing other similar bills, but by last week none had spoken up specifically on the Brownell bills which are clearly the Administration's substitute for all the others. **Labor's Daily** on May 12 showed alarm in this headline: "BROWNELL TARGET: UNIONS!" but in its report could quote no labor leader by name:

> "Scholarly analysts of the legislation believed it was intended to lay the groundwork for a fearful baying after and bushwhacking for Red suspects before the November elections such as the nation never saw before."

On Brownell's definition of a "Communist-infiltrated" organization, the paper commented:

> "Skeptical observers pointed out that this web of definition is spun so wide and depends on so many delicate and doubtful interpretations that it could be used to dismantle anything it was applied to."

LIBERTY'S CRISIS: The danger of quick passage was real, the time for counter-action short. The N.Y. Times reported on May 16:

> "A Congressional source said . . . that if the schedule permitted them [the bills] to be brought up at this session, they would pass."

Even Senators regarded by many as flaming liberals have indicated they will support such legislation. During recent debates on Taft-Hartley amendments (shelved for this session), Sens. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) jointly sponsored a bill to deny NLRB certification to unions whose officers are challenged on their non-Communist affidavits, and Sen. James Murray (D-Mont.), old-time staunch labor supporter, complained that the Administration's amendments would not eliminate "Communist influence" in "strategic unions."

In Boston May 20 Sherman Adams, Eisenhower's top aide and the No. 2 man in the government's executive branch, proclaimed that the Administration will take "second place to no agency of government" in matters of "internal security."

Lamont speaks in L. A. and in Salt Lake City

Dr. Corliss Lamont, teacher, philosopher and author, now on a cross-country speaking tour, will make two public addresses in Los Angeles: May 28, under the auspices of the S. Calif. branch of ACLU, on "The Congressional Inquisition"; May 30, at the First Unitarian Church, on "Co-existence or Co-destruction?" On June 1 he will speak in Salt Lake City before the First Unitarian Society on "Humanism and the Civil Liberties Crisis."

PAROLE DATE JULY 8

Hallinan must pay $50,000 for release

VINCENT HALLINAN, Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952, has been denied release from prison until he pays a $50,000 fine imposed for alleged income tax evasion. Serving an 18-month sentence in McNeil Island Federal Prison, Washington, he would normally be eligible for parole on July 8. Hallinan is also fighting disbarment proceedings brought by the California State Bar.

The attorney has said he doesn't have the $50,000 and petitioned for an early release to permit him to earn the money. Federal Judge Edward P. Murphy said he would be personally inclined to grant the request, but that the case is now outside his jurisdiction. Hallinan can sign a "pauper's oath" and be released at expiration of his sentence, but would still be liable to pay the fine.

Hallinan served a six-month sentence at McNeil Island on a charge of contempt of court following his successful defense in 1950 of Harry Bridges, president of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, and two other union officials against charges that Bridges had obtained citizenship fraudulently. He accepted the Progressive Party nomination while still in prison but was released in time to campaign actively. The charge of tax evasion was brought following the election of President Eisenhower.

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FOR AMNESTY WEEK: A LETTER TO SENATOR FULBRIGHT

How to destroy the octopus of fascism

Senator J. W. Fulbright,
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Senator:

I am writing to you because you stood in an honored minority on two "sensitive" contemporary issues—the stand you took against Senator McCarthy and your astringent criticism of the FBI for misuse of information in its files. And when you recently said that you were almost ashamed to sit in the Senate with Joseph McCarthy this sentiment was also completely consonant with your reputation for decency.

It is most unfortunate that the neo-fascism now prevailing should have been termed "McCarthyism," tending to invest him with an importance which is misleading to many honestly confused Americans. Albeit a coarsely vociferous manifestation of neo-fascism, he is NOT the source and origin of this current national illness. Were he to disappear from the national scene tomorrow, the malady of which he is but one revolting symptom would not be perceptibly abated.

I can only liken the numerous and growing aspects of this neo-fascism to an octopus, of which the Senator is only one tentacle. Lop off a tentacle from such a monster and it does not die. The creature's BODY must be slain before it is rendered harmless.

To do that we must return to first principles—back to the point where we should have started to stop this thing. We must profit by Pastor Niemoeller's statement, when in bitter wisdom after the event he said:

"When Communists were jailed it was all right, we weren't Communists. When Jews were bounded—we didn't care. When the union leaders were arrested—we preferred to keep quiet. We were not union members. When I was jailed—it was too late to do anything."

The body of this neo-fascist octopus is the Smith Act. This established the "legal" basis for the indictment, the conviction and subsequent imprisonment of men and women for alleged "conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence," but actually for their open advocacy of social theories of which the government disapproves. Further, the application of this act has fostered the growth of hysteria and fear.

The Smith Act must be repealed and so must all companion repressive legislation. To permit these to remain on the Statute Books while we only do battle for mitigation of the present evils flowing from them would be the equivalent of applying palliatives to a cancer in lieu of performing a radical operation.

Even to a legislator of courage and probity, my objective in addressing you may seem somewhat breath-taking in the context of today's emotional and intellectual atmosphere. For I am soliciting your good offices to the following ends:

1. Repeal of the Smith Act and other repressive laws.
2. Amnesty for prisoners held (for ideas, not felonies) in consequence of these Acts.
3. Restoration of the Civil Rights lost by so many citizens and a halt to any contemplated encroachments on these rights.

Senator Fulbright, this nation survived the macabre experience of the Alien and Sedition are solely because our Revolution had bred Americans with the intellectual perception to see the path we were taking, with the spiritual vision to see whither it was leading and the undefeatable moral courage to give battle.

Once again, today's events constitute a clarion call to Americans of distinction and influence to take the leadership in unity with like-minded fellow citizens. In the words of George Moore, "The time is ripe—aye, rotten ripe—for change."

Respectfully yours,
Muriel I. Symington
310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DOROTHY, JAMES & ROSANNE FOREST OF ST. LOUIS
The Forests, parents of Rosanne, 9, are both among the five Missouri Smith Act defendants now on trial in St. Louis. On May 20 the five rested their case. At GUARDIAN press time, defense motions for directed acquittal of all five were being argued.

In a series of articles in three previous issues this month, the GUARDIAN has presented arguments for a national mass campaign for amnesty now for all victims of political repression in the U.S. beginning with the 101 now in jail, convicted or indicted under the 1940 Smith Act.

Amnesty campaigns in previous periods of repression have begun with the arrests and have resulted in freedom for the victims and nullifications of the Acts used against them. An amnesty campaign waged now can help nail the Big Lie of Soviet aggression and Communist conspiracy upon which the Truman and Eisenhower administrations have based their policies of war and repression.

We urge you to participate in the activities of Amnesty Month, June 4-July 4, and to continue beyond this with an unceasing effort to bring about nullification and repeal of the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, the Walter-McCarran immigration law; and to kill proposed new repressive legislation such as the Brownell bills aimed at labor, business and the right to citizenship of individuals utilizing constitutional rights of free speech, assembly and advocacy.

The letter herewith demonstrates how one reader has acted in these directions. We recommend such communications to your own Senators and Congressmen, as well as to Fulbright.

SMITH ACT IN LIBERTY'S CRADLE

Otis Hood, 6 others indicted in Boston on never-used 35-year-old anarchy act

OTIS ARCHER HOOD is a sculptor of note. He is 54, a lifelong resident of Massachusetts. He and his wife both trace their ancestries back to the Mayflower. They have two daughters, 8 and 11.

Hood is also the head of the Communist Party of Massachusetts. In March, Atty Gen. Fingold announced his intention to indict him under the Massachusetts "anti-subversive" law passed in 1951.

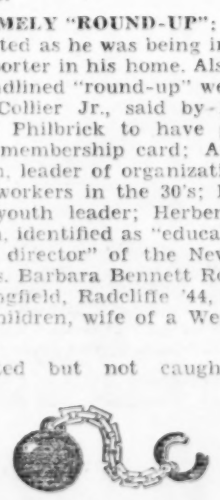
On April 2, Hood filed a petition in Massachusetts Superior Court requesting a declaratory judgment on the constitutionality of the "anti-subversive" law, similar to the law declared by Pennsylvania courts to be superseded by the Smith Act in the Steve Nelson case.

NOW IT'S ANARCHY: The day Hood filed his petition, Fingold "raided" the CP office in Boston, next day ordered Hood's arrest. A week later he was indicted under the contested law and released in $10,000 bail. Hood's attorney, Gabriel Kantrovitz, filed a 14-count motion to quash the indictment on constitutional and other grounds. May 20 was set for argument.

On May 20 Boston D. A. Garret Byrne (facing a fight for re-election) got a new indictment of Hood and six other alleged Communist leaders in Greater Boston under Massachusetts' 1919 Anarchy Act. It was amended in 1948 to make it analagous to the Smith Act, but has never been used before in its 35 years.

THE TIMELY "ROUND-UP": Hood was re-arrested as he was being interviewed by a reporter in his home. Also arrested in a headlined "round-up" were Franklin P. Collier Jr., said by FBI plant Herbert Philbrick to have given him his CP membership card; Ann Burlak Timpson, leader of organization among textile workers in the 30's; Mrs. Edith Abber, youth leader; Herbert U. Zimmerman, identified as "educational and literary director" of the New England CP; Mrs. Barbara Bennett Rosenkrantz of Springfield, Radcliffe '44, mother of three children, wife of a Westinghouse worker.

Indicted but not caught in the "round-up" was Otis Hood's next-door neighbor, Daniel Boone Schirmer, a direct descendant of the original coonskin-capped trailsman of Kentucky legend.



The 1919 law was used because D. A. Byrne said "there is some question of the constitutionality of the 1951 Act." These arrested were unanimous in asserting that Byrne needed a "Red" scare for re-election.

Amnesty Month events

HERE are some activities planned during Amnesty Month. Obtain detailed information through local committees, GUARDIAN ads or Natl. Committee to Win Amnesty, 667 Madison Av., Room 611, New York 21. If nothing is planned for your community, plan something yourself, using previous GUARDIAN amnesty articles of May 10, 17, 24 and material offered elsewhere on this page.

JUNE 5—Seattle; Finnish Hall, 1239 Washington St. 1 p.m.

JUNE 10: New York—Chateau Gardens, Houston St. and 2d Av.; Paul Robeson, Dr. Edward K. Barsky, James Aronson, others. 8 p.m.

JUNE 11: Newark (eight other rallies are scheduled in N.J. during June).

JUNE 18: Chicago "Salute to Fathers."

JUNE 19: Philadelphia, two-day conference against repressive legislation.

JUNE 27: New Haven, picnic.

France's CGT asks general U.S. amnesty

FRANCE's top labor organization, CGT (General Confedn. of Labor), on May 14 addressed to President Eisenhower and Atty. Gen. Brownell a demand for a general amnesty for victims of the U.S. Smith Act, McCarran Acts and Taft-Hartley Law. The communication specifically attacked the T-H conviction of fur union leader Ben Gold; attempted deportation of Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak to S. Korea; attacks on the Jefferson School and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; denial of passport to Paul Robeson, and indictment of more than 100 individuals under the Smith Act. The letter, signed by gen. secy. Alain Le Leap, conveys the sympathy and solidarity of millions of French workers to "trade unionists and other courageous, progressive citizens who are carrying on a struggle for democracy and peace in the U.S."

CP asks amnesty for Dennis et al.

IN A STATEMENT signed by William Z. Foster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Fettis Perry, the natl. committee of the Communist Party has announced an amnesty campaign for all political prisoners keyed to the 50th birthday on Aug. 11 of Eugene Dennis, party gen. secy. and first CP leader to be jailed in the attack climaxed by the Foley Square Smith Act convictions of 1949.

Through airings of the McCarthy-Stevens row and other witch-hunt scandals in recent months, "millions are beginning—for the first time—to sense that the 'Communist conspiracy' is a cruel hoax," the statement points out, continuing:

"Millions now know that the FBI stoolpigeon, Mrs. Mary Markward, lied about the Negro government worker, Mrs. Annie Lee Moss; that Paul Crouch lies about Dr. Oppenheimer; that Louis Budenz, not Prof. Owen Lattimore, is guilty of perjury.

"These millions need take only the next logical step to realize that the whole crazy structure of this gigantic frame-up rests upon the frame-up of Gene Dennis and the other Smith Act defendants."

Amnesty headquarters

For local activity during Amnesty Month, June 4-July 4, here is the list of headquarters in principal cities:

SEATTLE: Northwest Citizens Defense Committee, 304 University Bldg.
SAN FRANCISCO: California Emergency Defense Committee, 935 Market St.
LOS ANGELES: California Emergency Defense Committee, 307 S. Hill St.
ST. LOUIS: St. Louis Emergency Defense Committee, P.O. Box 481, Williston Station.
CHICAGO: Chicago Committee to Win Amnesty, P.O. Box 7555, Chicago 80, Ill.
PITTSBURGH: Steve Nelson, 3120 Iowa Street.
PHILADELPHIA: Civil Rights Congress, 205 Hardt Bldg., Philadelphia 22.
NATIONAL (N.Y.): Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims, Room 611, 667 Madison Av., New York 21.

W. E. B. DuBOIS WRITES ON THE SCHOOL SEGREGATION DECISION

'We rejoice and tell the world . . . but we must go further'

By W. E. B. DuBois

ONE HUNDRED YEARS before Chief Justice Warren declared that racial segregation in public schools "is a denial of the equal protection of the law," another chief justice declared that Negroes had no rights which a white man must respect. Thus in a century this nation has taken mighty steps along Freedom Road and raised the hopes of mankind, black, yellow and white.

It would be opportune to retrace some of these steps. In 1863 Lincoln freed the slaves of states still in rebellion. In 1865 the 13th Amendment abolished slavery, against the will of the South which had not been restored to Congress. Early in 1866 Congress passed a bill giving land, schools and relief to freedmen, and a civil rights bill; but President Johnson vetoed both.

THE COACH AND SIX: At the same time the South, awaiting readmission to the union, passed a series of "Black Codes" which virtually restored Negro slavery. Congress had to act. A 14th Amendment to the Constitution was proposed, giving Congress power "to make all laws necessary and proper to secure to all persons in every state within this union equal protection in their rights of life, liberty and property." This was amended so as to make Negroes citizens but their disfranchisement permissible if the state representation in Congress was cut down proportionately. Thaddeus Stevens did not like this compromise, but declaring "I live among men, not angels," brought the bill before the House on Jan. 22, 1866. He asked that it pass "before sundown"; it did not pass for four months.

In the Senate, Charles Sumner, still sick from his beating by a Southerner, thundered:

"The cunning slave-master will drive his coach and six through your amendment stuffed with all his representatives."

THE EMPTY THREAT: This made the North sit up and take notice. The North did not want Negro suffrage; six states had just repudiated it in their own borders. But the suave and elegant Conklin of New York reminded the North that the South was about to return to Congress with 28 extra votes due to emancipation: "Shall 120,000 white people in New York cast but one vote . . . while the same number of white people in Mississippi have three votes?" Votes were now valuable, taxes heavy, prices high. The West did not want to pay the national debt in gold; the South wanted the Confederate debt paid and compensation for free slaves. Both South and West wanted the tariff reduced on which a new Northern industry had been built.

After six months' juggling the 14th Amendment passed Congress. It made Negroes citizens, allowed

NOT EQUAL UNDER THE LAW
A Negro schoolhouse in Ways, Ga.—outlawed

their disfranchisement, but with a threat of possible reduction of representation; it guaranteed civil rights to all "persons," not simply to all "citizens." This was Conklin's ruse to drag in corporations for protection of their "rights" and "property" by "due process of law." Thereupon the South disfranchised Negroes and the North never even tried to reduce its representation. Color caste was made legal. The national debt was paid in gold and Southern claims forgotten; the tariff stayed high, soon went higher.

THE PAINFUL FIGHT: But the Niagara Movement in 1905, and the NAACP in 1910, began the long fight for democracy. In a quarter of a century they mobilized Negro Americans in a struggle which made the Supreme Court recognize the 15th Amendment (no abridgment of voting rights on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude); reversed a series of unjust state prosecutions; reduced lynching from one a week to one a year; stopped race segregation ordinances in cities and outlawed race covenants in selling real estate; overthrew the "White Primary"; stopped separation by race on inter-state travel, and forced admission of some Negro students into Southern white colleges. They began integration of Negro service men into our armed forces. Finally they attacked discrimination in employment by Presidential proclamation and at last won the decision of May 17.

We rejoice and tell the world, and by so doing admit freely that heretofore this nation has not been a free democracy and that the criticism of the Communist world has in this respect been entirely justified. But we must go further and insist that great as is this victory, many and long steps along Freedom Road lie ahead.

THE LONG ROAD: The legal color line still exists in the United States: in state travel, in public facilities, in public housing, in hospitals and health service; in hotels, restaurants, theaters and cemeteries; in marriage and family relations. Beyond legal caste lies discrimination in administration. Of Negroes eligible in the South not one in ten is allowed to vote. Negroes are not more criminal than their poverty and ignorance excuse. Yet 30% of the felony prisoners are Negroes and over 50% of all those executed for murder and of those given life imprisonment are Negroes, who form but a tenth of the population. Lynching has thus gone into our courts. Schools, public and private, higher and professional, still widely discriminate against Negroes.

We American Negroes therefore are freer, but we are not yet free. Many will say complete freedom and equality between black and white Americans is impossible. Perhaps; but I have seen the Impossible happen. It did happen on May 17, 1954.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, Natl. Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

CALENDAR

Chicago

FRIENDS OF MANDEL TERMAN Keep open Sat., June 26, for huge dinner-tribute to Mandel, arranged by group of friends. Watch for details later. B. Brail, Chairman of Committee.

REMEMBER THE ROSENBERGS—JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL! Rosenberg Memorial Meeting. Presiding: Miss Pearl Hart, Prof. Stephen Love, Prof. Malcolm Sharp, Rabbi S. Burr Yampol. Thurs., June 17, 8:15 p.m., Curtiss Hall, 410 S. Michigan Av. Adm. $1. Ausp: Chicago Rosenberg-Sobell Comm.

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Showing of **GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT**, June 4, Golden State Auditorium, Western and Adams, 8 p.m. Adm: $1. Benefit, Teachers Defense Committee.

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May Day in Peking: Half a million people at the Gate of Heavenly Peace

The author of this article is an American woman who is married to a Chinese and has been living in China for five years. The mother of two sons (4 and 7) she writes that her younger one's favorite song is "Our workers have great strength," which he sometimes varies into "We are workers and have great strength to eat"—meaning himself and his brother. We print this article to balance the Hong Kong fancsy reports of "screaming red hordes" poised inside China's borders ready to swoop on all southeast Asia.

By Lucy Vey

PEKING, CHINA

FOR ANYONE who still doubted the peaceful intentions of the new China the May Day parade of half a million cheering, singing people provided a clear answer. The "old master of heaven" was in a benign mood and the sun shone warmly on the 50,000 Young Pioneers and special groups of government workers filling the huge space opposite Tien An Men, the "Gate of Heavenly Peace."

At the stroke of 10 a.m. Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the other government leaders appeared on the rostrum and the band struck up with the national anthem. The 28-salvo gun salute added its majestic accents to the collective answers the working people of Peking were about to give to the requirements of the second year of China's Five-Year Plan.

FLOWERS AND FLAGS: First in line were 1,300 standard bearers—railway workers whose long revolutionary tradition ensures them this place of honor. Then came 8,500 Young Pioneers, the rhythm of their waist-drums underlining what the liberation has really meant for these youngsters.

Then 136,000 workers with flowers, slogans, flags, models and charts—from the railway workshops, the power plants and the coal-mines on the outskirts of Peking. The miners' floats and models showed the extent to which mechanization has lightened human drudgery. This year there were also many workers with reams of gaily colored cloth from new, state-owned textile mills; thousands of construction workers, workers from modern printing and publishing houses, from the smaller, privately-owned workshops and factories.

A FLOAT WITH OVERSIZE VEGETABLES
Passing the reviewing stand at Tien An Men

The 11,000 peasants from collective and state farms—or members of agricultural producers' cooperatives in the environs of the city—displayed charts of increased yields through scientific methods, carried floats of over-sized vegetables (some never grown before hereabouts). They gave a glimpse of the tremendous changes that have been taking place in rural China.

THEY ARE UNITED: The 40,000 government cadres with slogans ("sound body, sound mind, sound work"); 70,000 Peking citizens proudly identifying themselves as working people; 10,000 employes of private commercial and industrial enterprises; they all demonstrated by their gaiety that Intl. Labor Day for them too had an important meaning of unity and determination.

This determination showed also in the accent on youth, in itself remarkable in this land where veneration of old age epitomized the ethics of thousands of years. There were 120,000 students—from middle-schools, special technological schools and colleges—in the parade. These are young people who are training today for assured industrial and agricultural jobs that need scientific knowledge, builders of the "singing tomorrows," when war and social strife and exploitation will be horror tales out of a savage past.

BURST OF COLOR: The parade concluded with the march past the reviewing stands of 40,000 men and women active in the fields of art and culture; the Korean Art Troupe, colorfully dressed **yangko** dancers, and other national groups in their gorgeous costumes dancing their way across Tien An Men Square; and 4,000 young athletes, including a dozen Mongolian cyclists who had pedaled their way to Peking for the occasion.

All groups tried to outdo one another with color and arrangements of bouquets, number of pictures of Chinese and foreign working-class leaders, the variety of machine models, of balloons released (some with parachutes or slogan streamers), of doves and gliders.

If those who begrudge China her confident strides into a planned future call a parade like May Day's a camouflage for expanionist aims, I would rather bet my last nickel on it than on those who don't even bother to camouflage as an olive branch the H-bomb with which they threatens to "pacify" us—for good.

School segregation

(Continued from Page 1)

segregation in the schools."

The Justice Dept.'s brief, presumably representing D.C. Negro pupils and parents, suggested the cases be sent back to lower courts for decision on how the Supreme Court's decree should be enforced. It presumed a year would be required.

HOW LONG? The country awaited the high court's final opinion until May 17 when, after nearly 60 years of legal struggles by the Negro people and their white friends, the nine high court justices gave their unanimous decision.

"Leading American educators . . . did not believe there would be great difficulty in putting the ruling into effect" (N.Y. **Times**, 5/18). Some Southern politicians and newspapers thought differently. Georgia's Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook immediately invited the chief law officers of the 17 affected states

> ". . . to explore the legal problems and possible legal courses of action that might be followed to preserve segregation in the public schools . . . within the framework of the federal and state constitutions."

Virginia's Thomas B. Stanley invited 15 fellow-Governors to Richmond June 7-8 for "an exchange of information and views." Six attorneys general declined Cook's invitation. Oklahoma's Johnston Murray, head of the Southern Governors' conference, said he wouldn't attend; he thought the discussion should wait until the Natl. Governors' Conference in New York on July 11.

LAW-DODGING PLANS: S. Carolina's Gov. Byrnes meanwhile stopped any new school construction until he knew whether the decision knocked out the state's expensive "equalization" program. Byrnes' "S. Carolina Plan" was being studied for hints by Georgia and Mississippi as to how best to get around the decision.

S. Carolina last year by constitutional amendment authorized elimination of the mandatory public-school system established by the Reconstruction Negro-white legislature. The state's appropriation bill authorizes local school boards to transfer pupils from one school to another "so as to promote the best interest of education" (as removing one or two Negro children from a "white" school or one or two white from a "Negro" school); requires that persons dissatisfied with school assignments (as Negro parents who suspect segregation) appeal for a hearing first to the county school board before going to the state. Appeals can be made from the state board to Court of Common Pleas and from there to the State Supreme Court.

Thus S. Carolina's plan for dodging the decision has gone farther legislatively than either Georgia's or Mississippi's. The scheme of Georgia's Talmadge is to keep intact existing school boards but lease the schools to private operators. The individual student then would receive a grant from the state and would attend the school of his "choice"—if it admitted him. An amendment to Georgia's constitution, to be voted on in November, authorizes payment of state, county or city funds to these "private" school operators.

Mississippi's Gov. Hugh White told **AP** the day after the decision that his state had a committee ready to seek ways legally to maintain jimcrow.

SIGNS OF ACCEPTANCE: In Georgia, wrote the Miami **Herald's** Edwin A. Lahey from Washington (5/20), "they'll run out of grits before the white politicians pay heed to the court's declaration." As a Mrs. Irene Sapp wrote to the Savannah **Morning Star** (5/21):

> "If it should come to pass that we would have to put Negro children in the white schools, I think they would have to build more jails instead of schools to put the white people for not sending their children to school."

But it was recalled that anti-segregation laws passed by S. Carolina's Reconstruction government were first opposed and then accepted by many whites (A. A. Taylor: **The Negro in S. Carolina during Reconstruction**), once they believed state authority backed this legislation and that it was there to stay. **INS** and **AP** reported a similar tendency in Maryland, Missouri and Virginia. Jefferson City (Mo.) reported:

> "No public protests were heard in Missouri on the Supreme Court ruling. Many educational leaders said the decision was not unexpected and indicated that preparations for it had been made."

From Richmond:

> "State and local officials of Virginia are expected to begin conferring within a week on steps required to adapt the state's educational system to the Supreme Court's decision."

From Maryland:

> "Dr. John H. Fischer, supt. of Baltimore's public schools, says he cannot see that the Supreme Court decision 'presents any special problems. . . . We don't expect any trouble at all as far as the children are concerned.'

THE OMINOUS FLY: Commentator Lahey saw

> ". . . one ominous fly in the ointment for the whites of Georgia . . . the real militancy of the organized Negroes, who insist that they will not take less than what the Supreme Court has said is their right under the Constitution."

He quoted Georgia's NAACP state director, Dr. C. L. Harper:

> "Right now, in the heat of an election campaign, the attitude of the white politicians is hostile to the acceptance of the Supreme Court ruling. The resistance is stronger in Georgia than in any other Southern state. But Negroes are not going to back off, in this case, and it's not going to be another situation the way the 14th Amendment was nullified down here 75 years ago."

Jack Kofoed in the Miami **Herald** (5/20) believed the South would finally follow the rest of the country because:

> "The fate of the U.S. is inextricably tied up with that of Asia. Teeming populations of China, Korea, India, Indo-China are mostly colored—yellow, brown and black. Communist propagandists have used the segregation theme to great advantage among these people. We tell the Asians we'll help them find liberty. Communists jog them with the accusation that this is a lie, since we do not even give Negro children in our own land the right to attend school with the whites. . . ."

UNFINISHED BUSINESS: This was a favorite angle among supporters of Eisenhower's foreign and domestic policies. Yet such facts as these—summarized by **U.S. News** (5/28)—were still available to propagandists:

> ". . . More than half the states now bar marriages of Negroes and white persons. . . . The country's multitude of country clubs, fraternities, lodges, professional groups, associations and co-operatives can continue to write their own tickets on racial exclusion. . . . Stations and restrooms are still segregated for Negroes in the South. . . . Streetcars and city buses are segregated in most Southern communities. . . . Most Southern and many Northern hotels refuse to take Negroes. . . . Theaters and restaurants are legally segregated in most Southern states: . . . Public parks frequently bar Negroes in the South. . . . Six Southern states required segregation in employment at the time of a recent survey. . . ."

The Negro people and their friends, supporting the NAACP legal fight, moved forward, as Thurgood Marshall said, "to implement" the court decision

"on the local level" throughout the South. The Supreme Court put ahead to next October hearings on how to put into effect its decision.

Last Monday it struck again at segregation. It outlawed jimcrow in low-cost housing projects and municipal golf courses, and sent back to lower courts, for reconsideration in the light of its school decision, cases involving publicly-supported colleges, universities and theaters.

No comment

ATOM SPLIT, FAITHS UNITED AT LOS ALAMOS.—"In the community where they split the atom we united the churches," a clergyman from the 'atomic city' of Los Alamos, N. M., said here Monday.

—Chicago Daily News, May 3.

Presidential long-distance sentence derby

(New record over the course)

"Now, make no mistake, I am anxious to see it [the McCarthy--Army hearing] cease, with all of the principal ones telling their story because, ladies and gentlemen, let me say again I just don't think anything today deserves to absorb the attention of the United States as compared to the study it should be making of our foreign situation, our foreign policy, as it is applied to the various areas of the world—where does lie our enlightened self-interest, where do we best support the whole theory of the hanging together, the co-operation amongst the nations of the free world, the program as it is applied to our own country in the terms of taxes and farm programs and everything that is there to keep us strong so we can pursue intelligently and with confidence a peaceful program in the world."

—From President Eisenhower's press conference, May 19 (direct quote authorized).

THE STORY OF TWO PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS

Claude Williams' 'heresy' hearings put off

THE Rev. Claude Williams, militant Southern preacher formerly of Detroit and now of Helena (Ala.), appeared in Detroit May 17 to appeal against his deposition from the ministry by Detroit Presbytery last February on grounds of "heresy." He was accompanied by New York attorney Royal France, who has written a long brief in the case, and retired Presbyterian minister Rev. Paul Johnson Allured who was to represent him as counsel before the Synod of Michigan.

The appeal was not heard, the Synod deciding to appoint a special judicial commission to study the briefs and trial transcript. The postponement was reported in the Detroit **News** (5/19) at the end of a story by that paper's church editor headlined CHRISTIAN REVOLUTION CALLED TODAY'S NEED. The headline referred to a speech at the evangelism conference preceding the opening of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A.'s 166th General Assembly, in which Natl. Council of Churches evangelist Dr. Charles B. Templeton said:

> "Today it is 'Love your neighbor' or else! . . . Why should a dark-skinned Asian believe us when we say we want liberty and justice for all, when we often deny equality and justice to some of our own citizens on the basis of the pigmentation of their skin? . . . The answer will not be found in new armaments . . . but in a new revolution—a revolution, Christian style."

PENITENCE & AFFIRMATION: Last month the Detroit Presbytery announced it had "forgiven" the Rev. Joseph Nowak of Detroit who had "confessed membership in the Communist Party" in 1946 and

". . . disavowed any connection with the CP or with its philosophy, reaffirmed his loyalty to Christ and the church. . . . We register our belief in [his] penitence and recommend clemency and forgiveness. . . ."

REV. CLAUDE WILLIAMS
The teachings of the Nazarene . . .

REV. JOSEPH NOWAK
. . . often suffer gross distortion

Williams is fighting his dismissal impenitently, asking in what way his militancy in behalf of the poor and oppressed diverges from the position of Jesus of Nazareth. Nowak had registered his penitence in March when he appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington as a witness against a fellow-clergyman, Williams College prof. of religion Rev. John A. Hutchinson, accused of collaborating with Communists in Baltimore.

On May 24 the Prebyterian General Assembly approved by 879 votes to 1 the strong denunciation, issued last November by the Church's General Council, of Congressional "inquisitions" of "citizens of integrity and social passion" in which "truth [was] being subtly and silently dethroned." The Assembly delegates gave a standing vote of confidence in retiring General Council chairman Dr. John A. Mackay, who signed the November declaration.

War & Peace

(Continued from page 1)

been beaten. **Newsweek** (5/24) explained: "Their jobs were at stake."

If the government falls, general elections are possible. The Gaullists especially fear a test at the polls. To strengthen his position with the Gaullists, who strongly oppose the European Army, Laniel indefinitely postponed the debate scheduled for May 18 to set a date for its discussion. Another factor in the government's continued existence is the inability of the opposition to find an alternative majority. Even should the government fall, Bidault has announced his intention of remaining as foreign minister of a caretaker government—and fighting for his (Dulles') policy which in the cabinet has the full support only of Laniel.

When Bidault returned to Paris the week-end of May 22, he and Laniel reviewed what **Reuters** (5/23) called a "detailed U.S. plan" for U.S. naval and air intervention but did not even report to the cabinet on Geneva. The danger that Washington in co-operation with Laniel and Bidault can block a settlement at Geneva, and so open the door to expanding the war, remains real.

EDEN'S PEACE EFFORTS: In Britain, Washington's blackmail has met stiff opposition. Hence the inspired U.S. press reports—a further tightening of screws—to the effect that the Anglo-U.S. partnership is "now far nearer the breaking point than most people suppose" (Alsops, 5/21).

Washington is outraged by the British veto over intervention in the Dienbienphu battle; by Churchill's balk at involvement in S.E. Asia pact negotiations before the Geneva conference has a chance to end the war; by British pressure on Australia and New Zealand to stay out; and by Foreign Secy. Eden's assumption of a mediating role at Geneva. There, wrote Labour MP Richard Crossman (**Sunday Pictorial**, 5/16), "Britain and the Soviet Union are working quietly together to prevent a complete breakdown of peace talks—a breakdown which could transform a local war into World War III." Back from Geneva, Crossman (**New Statesman**, 5/22) said Eden was urging the Americans to accept the fact of Viet Minh victory and try to get the best terms they can for a French withdrawal. After week-end consultations in London, Eden returned to Geneva with no apparent change in British policy, beyond a possible time limit on the conference.

FOURFOLD CATASTROPHE: Britain has fundamental reasons to oppose Washington's war policy in Asia:

- Britain knows such a war would be aimed at China; if attacked, China could overrun British strategic and empire interests—Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaya.
- The Commonwealth would be irrevocably split. Australia and New Zealand, taken into the U.S. strategic sphere by the 1951 Anzus Pact from which Britain was excluded, would pass under complete U.S. dominance. So might Pakistan with which the U.S. recently signed a military pact. India's and Burma's ties to Britain would be ruptured since they would refuse to back any Western war in Asia.
- The hope for Britain's economic survival—which, as **NYT** (5/23) pointed out, rests on maintenance of trade all over the world and especially development of British trade with the socialist world—would be shattered.
- S.E. Asia war could lead to world war in which the H-bomb threatens Britain with extinction.

THE SQUEEZE: In this situation the Churchill government, working closely with India, is trying to come to terms with Asia's new realities: to recognize Viet Minh victory in most of Vietnam; substitute for the U.S.-controlled Anzus Pact a broader one, embracing Asian neutrals, in which Britain would have a strong voice; and expand contacts with China.

But the capacity of any Empire-dedicated British government to resist U.S. pressure is limited. Whether Tory or Right-wing Labour, such a government must sooner or later capitulate to Washington since Britain's imperial position has been maintained (even as it has been undermined) only by binding Britain hand and foot to Washington policy. The pressure for an independent British policy comes from below, from the people who see Britain's future not in an empire held under U.S. overlordship but in independence of a British nation at peace. How far the Churchill government maintains an independent policy will depend on the strength of that pressure.

THE PERILOUS BLUFF: British opposition has already slowed Washington's war drive; the Geneva conference may block it. But Washington's refusal to recognize realities in Asia is intensifying the global crisis of its policy, which itself generates new pressures for war.

In Europe, even Washington now concedes the European Army plan has been killed by the Indo-China crisis. But every alternative plan for German rearmament will be equally opposed by France which "might bolt the Western Alliance, thus shattering the whole strategic concept" of the alliance (Ned Russell, **NYHT**, 5/23). In W. Germany, a strong movement is developing among nationalists and industrialists to seek unification by direct negotiation with Moscow and expand E.-W. trade.

Facing global collapse of its policy, Washington continues to threaten what Walter Lippmann has called (5/25) "harum scarum operations" in Indo-China, "military action which in the judgment of serious military men . . . cannot do what it is advertised to do." Such threats will be regarded by the world, he said, as "bluff" or "blind imprudence." They are in fact the moves of desperate and reckless policymakers who know no policy other than military force and find that is failing. The next such "bluff," as Crossman wrote,

> ". . . is bound to be called. And this time nobody can be sure that they [the Americans] will not plunge unpredictably — and disastrously — into 'massive retaliation.'"

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CALIFORNIA How main contests shape up for June 8 primary and what IPP is doing

By Gene Richards
Guardian special correspondent

LOS ANGELES

WHEN James H. Wilkins, engineer, newspaperman, former San Quentin prison warden and one-time mayor of San Rafael, just across the bay from San Francisco, spoke to his neighbors of a super-bridge which would some day span the Golden Gate, his little grand-daughter would notice the interest and incredulity on their faces.

"People give me the same look," she now says, "when I say we could use the energy of the hydrogen bomb—that we're wasting—to explore interstellar space." The grand-daughter, Mrs. Isobel Cerney, now 41 and Independent Progressive Party candidate for U.S. Senator in the California primary June 8, gave this reminiscence in a recent p. I interview in the San Rafael **Independent-Journal.**

Her comment and its prominent display provide some measure of the breadth of the election campaign.

KNIGHT vs. GRAVES: GOP Gov. Goodwin J. Knight, who seeks re-election to the job he inherited from Earl Warren, is reputedly a protege of Vice-President Nixon. He is opposed by Democrat Richard Graves, former officer of the League of California Municipalities, who has official CIO-PAC and increasing AFL rank-and-file support despite Knight's endorsement by top AFL leaders. Running-mate of Graves is Edward R. Roybal, Mexican-American city councilman in Los Angeles—an outspokenly liberal Democrat consistently supported by IPP, who was nominated by a rank-and-file Democratic Party upsurge. His is the first Mexican-American candidacy on a statewide level for 75 years.

TENNEY IN RACE: State Sen. Jack B. Tenney, who in 1952 ran for the vice-presidency on Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian-Nationalist ticket, has been repudiated by the GOP, which has entered a candidate against him. But Tenney's toughest competition—due to California's cross-filing law which allows candidates to run in the primaries of opposition parties as well as their own—comes from Richard Richards, L. A. Democratic leader who is openly charging Tenney with anti-Semitism.

Rep. Donald Jackson (R) of the Velde committee is opposed in the 16th CD by Rev. Mark Hogue (D), Congressional minister who has declared: "A vote for Jackson is a vote for McCarthyism."

PROGRESSIVES' POLICY: The IPP has no candidates in these races; but it has exposed the reactionary incumbents, called for their ouster. It said:

> "We will work with all citizens who seek to elect through the present old party primaries pro-labor, pro-peace, anti-McCarthy candidates. . . . It will be our aim to unite the voters around the real issues of peace, jobs, civil rights and civil liberties and to place pressure on all candidates on these issues."

Among others, IPP has entered two statewide contest candidates besides Mrs. Cerney: Horace V. Alexander, Los Angeles Negro and IPP leader, for Secretary of State; Herbert Cohn, World War II veteran and leader of Local 6 ILWU, for State Treasurer.

Mrs. Cerney was named to provide a real choice. The incumbent Thomas Kuchel (R) was appointed when Nixon was elected Vice-President. His Democratic opponent, Rep. Sam Yorty, was the first head of a state Un-American investigating committee and stands for bigger arms appropriations, witch-hunts and a blockade of China.

GALLAGHER RUNS: Also a candidate for Senator is Leo Gallagher, one-time CIO attorney, who is running as a Democrat with literature headed: "A Progressive Platform." He is calling for outlawing the bombs, no U.S. troops or bases on foreign soil, no intervention in Indo-China, unhampered world trade and domestic points generally included in progressive programs.

Mrs. Cerney's campaign highlights world peace by negotiation, full peacetime employment and public works, restoration of full foreign trade, 100% parity for farmers, restoration of the Bill of Rights and the Wagner Act, repeal of Smith and McCarran Acts, $1.50 minimum wage law, full minority group representation in elective and appointive offices.

STEINMETZ CAMPAIGN: Harry C. Steinmetz, San Diego State College professor fired under the Dilworth Act, is a candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, a non-partisan office, on a platform of "freedom from fear of ideas, legislators and troglodytes." (Troglodyte: "One of any savage race that dwells in caves"—Webster.)

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NEW YORK

Behind Big Medicine's war on HIP

By Elmer Bendiner

SINCE World War II the doctor's business has been booming. To many doctors the jammed waiting-rooms have posed a personal choice between organizing for greater public service or fatter fees. That is the real issue at stake in the running warfare between New York's medical societies and the Health Insurance Plan (H.I.P.)

Selig Greenberg in the Providence **Journal** estimates average net incomes of U.S. general practitioners at $11,300; surgeons, $16,000; obstetricians, $17,000; radiologists, $20,000. Outside of hospital clinics, doctors follow the businessman's code of charging what the traffic will bear. Their organization, the American Medical Assn., with its affiliated state and county medical societies has taken on the politics and techniques of big business.

EXCOMMUNICATION: The AMA's control over doctors is far tighter than any Chamber of Commerce's control over its member retailers. It is very difficult for any general practitioner to practice outside the society and almost impossible for a specialist. A doctor outside the organization is barred from most hospitals, which means he cannot refer patients or keep posted on up-to-date techniques. He can still put up a shingle, but to all practical purposes an AMA blackball is equivalent to excommunication from his profession. The charge that AMA is a monopoly has been made often and sometimes proven.

Machine politics has for so long ruled in the medical societies that few doctors bother to attend business sessions. Even now, in the heat of the battle over H.I.P., medical society meetings rarely muster the necessary quorum of 50 members. Doctors who speak out in opposition have been howled or steamrollered down.

CREEPING CAPITALISM: Big medicine maintains the second most powerful lobby in the country. In the first six months of 1952 when it mobilized to fight public health insurance it spent more than $169,000; only the electric companies topped it. In two weeks during that campaign it spent over $1,000,000 in bombarding doctors and patients with printed attacks on health insurance as creeping socialism.

RECEPTION ROOM AT AN H.I.P. CENTER
Even the magazines are up to date

It entered enthusiastically into politics, urging doctors around the country to "work unselfishly" for the late Sen. Robert A. Taft and circulating literature of the bitterly anti-New Deal Committee for Constitutional Government.

AMA won its campaign against national health insurance and the CIO commented that the nation would pay the price "in stunted lives, needless deaths and untold heartbreak."

GROUP-HEALTH ATTACK: With far less fanfare various societies within the AMA have tried to suppress medical health plans that organize doctors primarily for public service and go against the medical businessman's principle of charging what the traffic will bear.

In 1937 the AMA threatened to expel doctors who cooperated with the District of Columbia's newly-formed Group Health Assn. On Dec. 20, 1938, a federal grand jury indicted the AMA for violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. In 1941 the AMA was convicted and fined $2,500; the D.C. Medical Society, $1,500. In 1943 the Supreme Court upheld the conviction.

PERISHING SNIVELERS: Since then organized big medicine has changed little. In Aug., 1949, the **N.Y. State Journal of Medicine**, organ of the State Medical Society, summed up its philosophy:

"Any experienced practitioner will agree that what keeps the great majority of people well is the fact that they can't afford to be ill. That is a harsh, stern dictum and we readily admit that under it a certain number of cases of early tuberculosis and cancer, for example, may go undetected. Is it not better that a few such should perish rather than that the majority of the population should be encouraged on every occasion to run sniveling to the doctor?"

The tactics of big medicine, however, have grown more cautious. It is deterred not only by the Washington legal precedent but by the growing clamor for low-cost pre-paid group medical care by big trade unions and big businesses. H.I.P. now covers over 400,000 New Yorkers, has on its panels 1,000 of the 24,000 doctors in the State Society.

CLARIFIED ETHICS: The State Medical Society early this month renewed its offensive against H.I.P: its 300-member House of Delegates upheld charges made by the Queens County Medical Society against Dr. Ben E. Landess, H.I.P. medical director in Jamaica, Queens. The offense was that H.I.P. had advertised. The medical societies took this to be the same as if Dr. Landess himself had advertised, though his name never appeared in, nor did he benefit in any way from, any ad. The delegates took no action against Landess, but plainly meant to scare H.I.P. doctors. They passed a resolution "clarifying" the code of ethics to outlaw any advertising by a group health plan. The tactic was to reduce H.I.P. by slow starvation.

The delegates also defended two principles of medical business: the doctor's right to collect whatever fees he can and to split fees with a specialist he recommends. Another ethical "clarification" would prohibit any doctor from working for a salary (as for example in H.I.P.) unless patients were public charges.

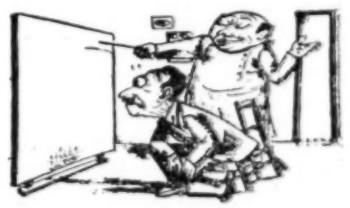
A BARNUM FARCE: Anti-H.I.P. doctors dressed their position with the slogan: "Free choice of physician." Dr. Landess, happily weathering the storm and confident that H.I.P. would grow to 1,000,000 members in three years, called the slogan "the biggest farce since Barnum and Bailey's Cardiff Giant."

He said that in private practice "the choice of a physician is not free so much as it is haphazard. A patient's choice of doctor is dictated by his neighborhood, the recommendations of a druggist or friend, and by the fee he can afford. He chooses a specialist on the recommendation of his doctor." Under present "ethics," that recommendation seems likely to be influenced by the fee-spliting deals he can make. The thousands who are cared for in clinics run by hospitals, lodges and factories do not clamor for "free choice."

The H.I.P. member has his choice of doctors within a panel; if none pleases him he can choose a different panel; he can switch to another group with new panels and if still unsatisfied, he can leave H.I.P. altogether with no financial loss.

"PRETTY SHORT-SIGHTED": The N.Y. State clarifications of ethics will go before the AMA when it meets next month to see if they jibe with AMA standards. AMA politicians and businessmen may very well move cautiously, aware that the N.Y. State action has boomeranged here.

The N.Y. press in rare unanimity panned the state and county societies as "reactionary" and "backward." The **Post** (5/14) said editorially: "In their unsavory attempt to destroy group medicine programs the leaders of the State Medical Society are dishonoring themselves and their profession. There must be innumerable doctors who resent this infamous campaign. . . . No matter what posture the Medical Society recommends,



Vic Nuove, Rome
"You can't read that? Then you need glasses, of course."

a lot of Americans will not take its treatment lying down."

The **Daily News** ran a picture captioned: "Dr. Hippocrates—dead 2,300 years, so maybe this picture won't convict him of 'advertising.'" The **News** had its own reason for defending H.I.P. It asked:

". . . Isn't it pretty short-sighted for any doctors to fight any privately operated organization designed to help kill off the agitation for Socialist medicine in this country? That agitation . . . could stage a dangerous comeback if the privately operated health insurance projects were to be knocked in the head."

THREE PUERTO RICANS AND A MURDER

Youths maintain their innocence to lawyers at meeting in Ethel Rosenberg's death cell

IN THE Sing Sing death cell where Ethel Rosenberg calmly awaited her execution a year ago, three Puerto Rican youths also facing death met with their lawyers last week and repeated firmly their claims of innocence.

Concepcion Estrada Correa, 17, told the lawyers: "Even now, if they give me ten years, I wouldn't take it—because I'm innocent."

Estrada Correa and two companions, Henry Matthews (originally Massio), also 17, and Pedro Antonio Rios, 22, are under sentence of death for the murder of 85-year-old Mrs. Anna Levy a year ago. Originally sentenced to die the week of May 10, their execution was stayed pending appeal.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS: They were tried during the hysteria over the shooting in Congress by Puerto Rican nationalists. The case against them left many questions unanswered (GUARDIAN, 5/3, 10, 17), indicated police third-degree methods were used to extract statements from defendants and witnesses. One key witness retracted his testimony against the three, later retracted his retraction.

At the lawyers' interview last week the three made no comment about Ethel Rosenberg, who had lived in the cell which they now used as a conference room. The guards, though, talked freely, recalling her singular composure and bravery on the way to death.

THE BATTLE AHEAD: The three young men were reported in fair physical shape, calm and actively interested in the pending legal battle for their lives. The appeal will probably be heard in the fall. Each of the men told their lawyers they had read through the documents and opinions in the case of Pete Hernandez of Texas.

Earlier this month the Supreme Court reversed the murder conviction of Hernandez, on the ground that Mexican-Americans had been systematically excluded from the panels out of which the jury that convicted him was picked. The three Puerto Ricans were tried by a blue-ribbon jury of businessmen without a single Puerto Rican or Negro on it.

From many quarters last week came signs of growing protest. The General Confedn. of Puerto Ricans has set up a permanent committee to press for a new trial. The American Labor Party's Council on Puerto Rican Community Affairs was preparing to recommend action by the ALP State exec. comm. at the week-end.

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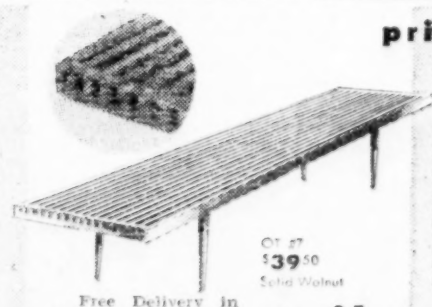

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

★ A WONDERFUL EVENING! ★
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Special Lectures on Latin-America and Indo-China. "THE CARACAS CONFERENCE AND U.S. POLICY," 1st of 3 lectures by E. B. Magil, Tues., June 1, 8:30 p.m. Adm. $1.
★
"INDO-CHINA AND THE CRISIS OF WORLD IMPERIALISM," 2nd of 3 lectures by Joseph Starobin, Mon., June 7, 8:30 p.m. Adm. $1. Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 6th Av.

HEAR YE! HEAR YE!
Town Hall Forum
TOPIC: "WHY DULLES FAILED AT GENEVA." Hear Mr. Joseph Starobin, author Eye-Witness in Indo-China. Wed., June 2, 8:30 p.m., Astor Hall, 2212 Church Av. (nr. Flatbush Av., B'klyn). Ausp: Book World, 714 Flatbush Av. Admission: 50c.

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MEMORIAL DAY SERVICE
Honor the fallen VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE . . . who gave their lives in two wars against fascism. HEAR: HOWARD FAST, noted author; MILTON WOLFF, Vets' National Commander; JACK YELLIN, Veteran of Spain and World War II; anti-fascist songs by popular chorus.
MONDAY, MAY 31—1 P.M.
Corner Brighton Beach & Coney Island Av., Brooklyn, N.Y.

FAMILY PICNIC FOR PEACE — Sun., June 13. 500 acres of glorious private picnic grounds—40 mi. from N.Y.C. at Arow Farm, Monroe, N.Y. Swimming, boating, fishing, baseball, square dancing, children's games. Children free (under 14). Adults admission to grounds $1.50. Bus transportation by reservation only—$2.50 per person (includes adm. to grounds). Buses will leave 9 a.m. from Allerton Club, 683 Allerton Av.; Burnside & Morris Av.; Hunts Pt. Palace, 163rd St. & So. Blvd. Directions by car: Washington Bridge, Rt. 4 to Rt. 17 to Orseck Boys, then turn left to Arow Farm. Sponsored by: Bronx County, ALP, 683 Allerton Av. For further information phone OL 5-9917, any evening after 8 p.m.

Coming: AMERICAN SOCIALIST Meeting. Speaker: Bert Cochran. Topic: THE CRISIS OF THE 20th CENTURY. Added Feature: McCarthyism in Action — Murrow TV Films. Fri., June 11, 8 p.m., Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av., near 14th St. Contribution: 60c.
★
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Labor's Daily, Charleston (W. Va.)
"He's looking for words with double meanings, so his campaign speeches will appeal to both capital and labor!"

Events for Children

Films

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Prospect Pl. Sat., May 29, 1:1 a.m., Chinese Shadow Play & Hare and Tortoise; 2 p.m., Treasure from the Sea & Animals Unlimited; 4 p.m., Beaver & Magnet. Free.

AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Pk. W. & 79th St. The Great Lakes, 2 p.m., Sat., May 29; Evolution of Oil Industry, Wed., June 2, 4 p.m. Free.

Miscellaneous

DANCE CONCERT: Playhouse Dance Company in New England Suite, Forest of Three, Tent Show, directed by Alwin Nikolais. Henry Sat., May 29, 8:30 p.m. Admission: $1.25.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Prospect Pl. Sat., May 29, 11:30 a.m., Story hour: Five Little Monkeys; 1:15 p.m., Live Animal Show; 2:30 p.m., Science Demonst.: Magnetism; 3 p.m., Cultural History Demonst.: Living in an African Jungle; 3:30 p.m., Planatarium demonst. Free.

AMERICAN YOUTH HOSTEL, Metropolitan N.Y. Council, 344 W. 36th St., LO 3-4289. Sat., June 5: Bike trip for beginners to Glen Island. Meet 149th St. & Bruckner Blvd., 9:30 a.m.

Sat., June 5: Hike and swim, a 12 mile walk to brand new hiking region, Mt. Adam & Eve. Bring roastables and food for supper, bathing suits. Meet 4:30 a.m., Chambers St. ferry. Cost: $3.

CHILDREN'S ZOO, Bronx Park, in the center of the Bronx Zoo. Children will enjoy the Mother Goose background and baby animals that are seen in story books. Riding animals and play area. Daily 10 a.m.-5 p.m., Suns. & holidays 10 a.m.-6:30 p.m. Children 20c, adults 1oc.

FARM-IN-THE-ZOO, Bronx Park. Youngsters visit a real farm that is stocked with pigs, cows, horses, chickens, geese, etc. Farmer Nelson Miller performs milking demonstrations starting at 2:30 p.m. at half-hour intervals until 3:30 on weekdays and Suns. at 3:30 to 4:30 p.m. Zoo open 10 a.m.-4:30 p.m., Suns. and holidays till 6 p.m. Children over 5 years and adults, 15c.

WONDERLAND FARM ZOO, South Ozone Park, Queens. Children may enter and pet the animals. Feed them, too. Daily 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Admission, 30c.

CASTING POOL, Bronx Pk., alongside Bronx River at the side of the Bronxdale Parking Field. Pool stocked with white and yellow perch, bluegills and black calico bass. Young anglers up to 14 years permitted to take their catch home; father may practice casting at 25s a half hour.

MERRY-GO-ROUNDS: Central Pk., opposite 65th St., center of park. Prospect Park, Flatbush Av. nr. Empire Blvd. entrance, B'klyn. Forest Park, Woodlawn Blvd. & Main Drive, Queens.

PONY RIDE TRACKS: Manhattan—Central Park Zoo area, 64th St. & 5th Av. B'klyn—Prospect Pk. Zoo area, Flatbush & Empire Blvd. Bronx—Pelham Bay Pk., City Island & Shore Blvd., also Van Cortlandt Pk., Mosholu Av. E. of B'way., Queens—Cunningham Pk., Union Turnpike nr. Francis Blvd., & Forest Pk., Woodlawn Blvd. nr. Forest Pk. Drive.

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ILA story next week

ONE of the most massive anti-labor assaults in trade union history was mounted on the eve of a Natl. Labor Relations Board election on the N.Y. waterfront. Courts, labor boards, Waterfront Commission, Dept. of Justice, police, press and American Fedn. of Labor raiders joined in an offensive that used every anti-labor trick in the book.

Longshoremen were voting as the GUARDIAN went to press. Next week, the story.

May 28-30:
RHYTHM OF AFRICA
and other shorts on the Negro in the arts. A work of beauty and dignity made in French Equatorial Africa by Jean Cocteau; English narration. Also films on achievements of U.S. Negro artists.
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CLIFFORD T. McAVOY WRITES

ALP must offer alternative; 'Defeat Deweyism' not enough

Clifford T. McAvoy, 1953 American Labor Party candidate for Mayor of New York City, is a member of the ALP State Executive Committee. We invite readers to comment on his views below, submitted in a letter to the editor.

THE ALP's Manhattan Center mass meeting May 6 launched the most important fight the ALP has ever made—a fight which will mean survival or destruction.

The New York State CIO leaders and Tammany Hall have a very simple slogan before them in the '54 election: "Defeat Deweyism."

Their task is simple because there is a simple, obvious and direct way of defeating Dewey and his followers: replace every Republican by a Democrat. Q.E.D., Deweyism will then have been defeated. No issues will have been solved. The Democratic replacement may boast that his party has jailed more Communists than McCarthy ever hoped to jail, that his party will restore all cuts in military spending, send our boys to Indo-China to defeat "communism" in Southeast Asia, and prepare to drop the H-bomb on Moscow. But—"Deweyism" will have been defeated!

The task for the ALP is not quite so simple. If the ALP is to fulfill its role as a party which provides alternatives for war, fascism and depression, it cannot rely on such slogans as "Defeat Deweyism" and "Defeat McCarthyism."

THE FACT IS that with the exception of Sen. Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado, not a single Democratic Senator or Congressman has moved to halt the maneuvering of the Eisenhower Administration to involve us in another war in Indo-China.

The fact is that LeRoy Gore, editor of the Sauk City (Wis.) Star and leader of the Joe-Must-Go movement in Wisconsin, has stated that that fine movement may very well fail because of the refusal of Democratic Party leaders and labor leaders to take part in the recall movement.

The fact is that the first Senator to introduce bills to place labor unions under the Subversive Activities Control Board was the great "liberal" Hubert Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota, ante-dating Brownell by three years. And it was "our" Sen. Lehman who proposed the concentration camp provision found in the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950—this as an answer to the Mundt-Nixon Bill. Those who want to return to the Truman Doctrine, the Truman Loyalty Oaths, the Truman Smith Act prosecutions, and the Truman use of Taft-Hartley injunctions to break strikes may do so if they wish. Doing so, however, they will not have chosen an alternative to the Eisenhower-Dewey-McCarthy program of war and fascism—they will merely have chosen other masters (named perhaps Roosevelt Jr. and Stevenson) in order to carry out the same basic program under another party label.

THE ALP has already made a basic decision to run candidates for Governor and other state offices. This campaign must be undertaken and at least 50,000 votes obtained if the ALP is to survive as a legal political party in New York State. This campaign can be won—and it is even possible for the ALP to obtain upwards of 200,000 votes—IF a positive, dynamic, constructive campaign of intelligent alternatives to the present program of war, fascism and depression is waged.

The slogan "Defeat Deweyism" will not carry us to victory, nor will it even enable us to survive. The most unsophisticated voter can easily perceive that there is one simple way to defeat Dewey and that is a vote for a Roosevelt Jr. and his running mates. The ALP program must be FOR peace, FOR civil liberties, FOR an economy of abundance, FOR an end to Jim Crow in all aspects of life.

This is especially true with respect to the Congressional races and contests for the state legislature. To supplant an incumbent Republican Congressman who will certainly be for Dewey, and possibly for McCarthy, with a Democrat who is for war, more witch-hunting, and who is afraid to speak out against McCarthy, will hardly be a gain—even though thousands of ill-advised members of labor unions may troop to the polls under the illusion that they are getting something for their vote by voting Democratic.

THE ESSENCE of McCarthyism is not his attacks on civil liberties and the rights of individuals, brutal as these may be. The essence of McCarthyism is its calculated attempt to create an unbridgeable chasm between the Soviet Union and the U. S. which can only lead to a third World War. Those who subscribe to this thesis, whether they be Democrats or Republicans, whether or not they approve of McCarthy's methods in his investigations, are McCarthyites in the real sense of the word. If America is to be saved from war and fascism, these politicians in both parties must be opposed with every resource at our command.

Wherever we find a Republican or Democrat who opposes McCarthyism not only in method but in principle, who will make a genuine fight against U.S. intervention in Asia, who will stand up for the Bill of Rights and who promises to do something about the 5,000,000 unemployed now walking the streets, the ALP should give that candidate active support **because he will provide a genuine alternative.** If we fail to make an honest and serious test of candidates based upon real issues which will confront the people in November, it makes no difference whether we get 5,000 or 50,000 votes. We will have lost any reason for existence in the swamp of a low, sordid kind of political opportunism.

I am confident that the majority of members of the ALP, if left to their own judgment, will make the courageous decision to fight on the basis of principle and thus preserve the vital role of the ALP as an independent party dedicated to Peace, Freedom and Abundance.

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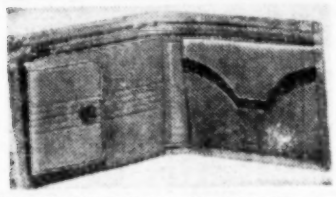

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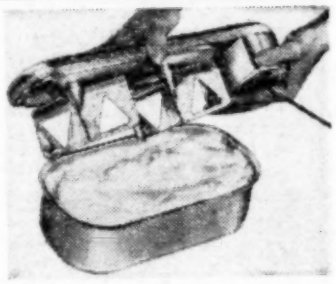

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the SPECTATOR

In the beginning there were ten

IT IS seven years since John Howard Lawson, the first of Hollywood's "unfriendly witnesses," told J. Parnell Thomas, the Kickback Kid from New Jersey, that he had no right to inquire into his political and other beliefs. In the Washington hearings room that day sat a record crowd of stars who had flown in to protest against the Un-American Activities Committee's proceedings. Among them were Danny Kaye, Humphrey Bogart, Lauren Bacall, Gene Kelly, Paul Henreid and June Havoc. Representing a much larger group—"The Committee for the First Amendment," headed by John Huston—they were in earnest about defending the Bill of Rights.

Back in Beverly Hills and Bel Air even the producers, recalling how they had fought off Sen. Nye's investigation into anti-Nazi movies, supported the subpenees bravely—but briefly. Summoned to the Waldorf in New York for a huddle with the Money Men, they were reminded that studio walls are stucco but banks are made of marble. Outcome of the conclave was the Hollywood blacklist. In the beginning there were ten; now there are 500.

Drawing by Gabriel, London

"May I help you cross the road, ma'am, that is, if you are not a Communist!"

SEVEN lean years of repression have all but swallowed up the seven good years which preceded them. The armadillo-back organization known as the Motion Picture Alliance for Preservation of American Ideals, which once was driven under a rock by the concerted attack of 19 trade unions and guilds, is now the clearing-house for discounting loyalty checks. The former accusers of the MPA tremble before it and its allies—the American Legion, George Sokolsky, stoolpigeons, fingermen (and Lady Fingers too), and private FBI's on studio payrolls. The more individuals are silenced, the hoarser grow the unions shouting: "Down with the reds!"

In the Intl. Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes, Roy Brewer, a shrewd operator and former IATSE Hollywood representative, is trying to wrest the presidency away from Richard F. Walsh. The main fight is not about wages or pensions but whether Walsh has been "too unemotional about the Communist issue." Walsh is defending himself for not ordering a direct boycott by projectionists of **Salt of the Earth**. He merely encouraged indirect sabotage. Last week's **Variety** had a full-page headline, "I'M NO SLOUCH vs. REDS"—WALSH.

ACTORS' unions have been rocked by charges and purges. The American Fedn. of Television & Radio Actors is trying to expel some members who stood on the Fifth in Congressional probes. Most prominent is John Brown, veteran of the Fred Allen show, who helped found the union in the pre-television era.

Future members of the Screen Actors' Guild will be expected to sign I-am-not-and-will-not-be oaths. In New York, merely to speak up on the floor of Actors' Equity meetings makes one politically suspect and may limit the sphere of employment.

In view of the fact that the proportion of blacklisted writers is overwhelming, the stand of the Screen Writers' Guild is a shambles. SWG instituted an anti-blacklist suit against the producers in the battle's early stages. This has been dropped. The once-progressive union of writers has sunk to denying screen credit for work by any member who balks questions on political affiliations not only before committees but in producers' offices. In this period screen writers must approach assignments not with an open mind, but with an empty one.

ON the positive side, the position of the Authors' League of America is uncompromising. The Council states:

"The Authors' League . . . has never had and never will have a political test for its members . . . neither judges nor defends [their] individual views, But the League, as always, will combat every concerted effort, whether hidden or overt, to determine the employment of any writer or the presentation or publication of his work on any basis other than the merit of his writing.

"This the League can do by campaigning actively against these new political controls. This the League now proposes to do, believing that here, in to-day's new suppression of writing and writers, lies a 'clear and present danger' to all American freedoms."

DESPITE CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

Los Angeles hails 'Salt'

LOS ANGELES

THIS CITY, accustomed to kleig-and-mink movie premieres, had a different kind last week: **Salt of the Earth** opened at the Marcal Theater to the accompaniment of dead silence by most of the metropolitan press, radio and TV. In place of attendance by Hollywood's elite, three pickets with crudely-lettered placards patrolled the entrance. But paying customers had to be turned away; week-end patronage exceeded all expectations.

First-night audience gave the film an ovation, quieted only after Michael Wilson, author of the script, pleaded five minutes for silence.

The movie is scheduled for an indefinite run.